1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

251 There are no taboos
[784] caused with the period except that attending a dance will interfere with proper dying and that if small children loiter too near the older group they will fail to grow up rapidly. For his services the young man is paid a nominal sum of an arrow, or nowadays a penny, per child. He seldom makes more than twenty or thirty cents for a week's work. When I asked why a young man undertook such a task when the reward was so small, the answer was, "Because he likes to be near young girls."

304 On the last day or two of the period those who are to have their
[781] teeth filed go through the ordeal. The same person who prepared the dye usually does the tooth filing. The subject's head is laid on the thigh of the operator and wedged against his side with his elbow. The jaws are propped open with a piece of corncob. The six upper and six lower
[812] front teeth are then filed to half their length with an ordinary knife blade which has been nicked to resemble a saw. Apparently experience makes it possible to avoid the root canal, which occupies only the upper half of the incisors. The whole operation takes about two or three
[837] hours, and for this the operator is paid the equivalent of about five cents. It is undoubtedly painful but, as in tattooing, it is bad form to admit it. The result of this filing means that even when the back teeth
[832] are occluded, the tongue will show pinkly between the gaping front teeth when a person smiles. This is considered definitely attractive.

The complete informality of this ceremony is manifest by the fact that some of the young people return two or three years in succession if the first attempt at blackening was not successful. Also, anyone, at any time, may have his teeth filed down to a straight, even line for appearance's sake. The range of ages is also wide. Boys may be from about fourteen to twenty and girls from twelve to eighteen. There is no regulation against young married people joining the group. The married people, however, are most likely to be girls, since marriage comes early for them.

Tattooing, the beginning of masculine vanity, courting, and tooth blackening are all preliminaries to marriage for young people. It will be necessary now to describe the financial elaborations involved in marriage for the young Atimelangers, how they enter into such relationships, and what some of the associated sex attitudes and practices are.

STRUCTURE OF MARRIAGE FINANCE

383 Marriage has as one of its major functions the establishment of a series of exchanges between groups of extended affinal kin which will continue as long as the marriage lasts. There are three major types of

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

OF So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forms, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelangers' more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

§33 591 It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously [§34] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family home at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

● §32 Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling [§31] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep. §33 Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tugging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be distasteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to [§36] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

593 two monogamous and apparently devoted middle-aged couples who,
[597] never having had children of their own, each adopted an orphan.

Before we can weave all these sexual attitudes into some sort of functional coherence, a few comments must be made on the subject of jealousy. That men are jealous of their wives' behavior both before and after marriage is obvious from what has already been said. Adultery is
[598] punishable by death, although a husband is most often satisfied with a fine, and the male culprit usually moves away until the trouble is forgotten. The most extreme cases of male vengeance for adultery are to be found in the latter part of Malekáka's autobiography.

632 There are a number of devices for magically securing or keeping the
● love of a desired person. As might be anticipated, they all deal with food. A woman who wishes to keep the love of her husband can do so by putting into the bottom of the food pot shreds of her loincloth, clippings of pubic or axillary hair, or clippings of her nails. Certain plants too have the same effect. When the man breathes the steam of the food into which tiny bits of the proper plant have been dropped, he thinks thereafter of no one but the woman who cooked the food.

777 Men are supposed to know of certain roots, pieces of which, carried
632 in the bottom of their areca baskets, will give them luck both in wealth and in sex quests. Also, diamond- and lizard-shaped figures are cut by men from the crisp, thin sheath that grows out of some bamboo joints. These talismans (*adalawg*) are hung by a bit of string from the house eaves so that they wave in the wind. Their waving is supposed to beckon either women or wealth, depending on the wish expressed by the maker. Certainly never more clearly does the wealth, food, and sex linkage come out than in these love charms.

595 Jealousy on the part of women has direct cultural outlets and aggressive expression. When a man takes a second wife, for example, it is considered good form for the first one to quarrel about it. As might be expected, these quarrels are often phrased in terms of property. The first wife will ask how a man can afford to pay a bride-price on another woman when he has paid so little on her. Or she will claim that the pigs he has given for a second wife were in large part raised by herself, which may be true, and that she does not want them so disposed of. She does not have theoretic claim on fresh food, but in practice she may insist, quite rightly, on her interest in it.

After a few reproaches of this sort the first wife seeks out the second. They exchange insults for a time and then begin pulling, tugging, and beating at each other. Immediately all the women of the village become involved. Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in

1:DuBois E-S (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the older sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

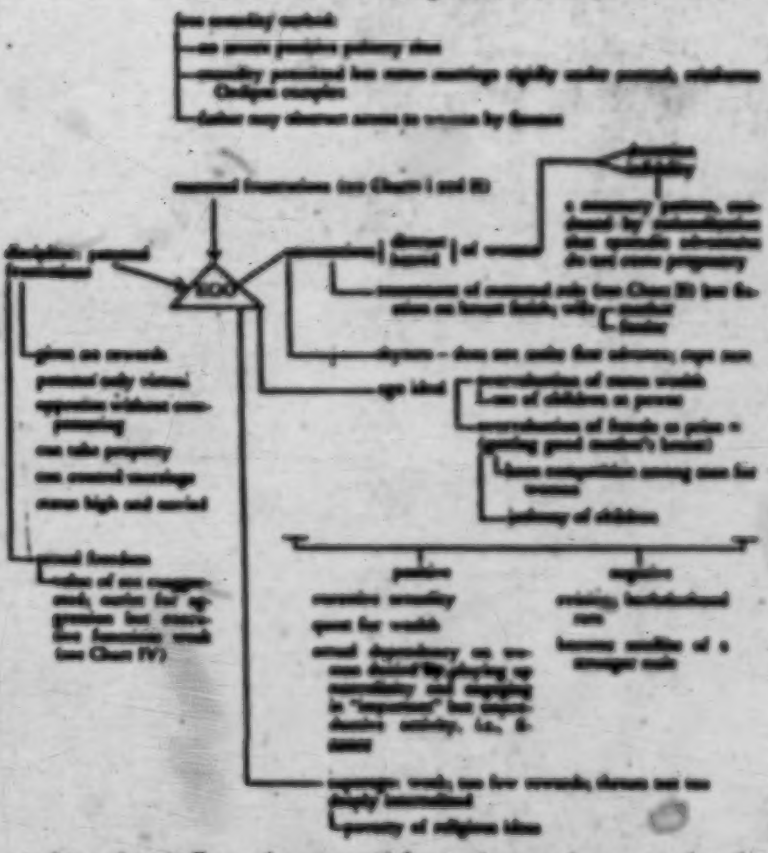
The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

Chart III. Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex (Males)



155

reaches puberty. From the maternal frustrations we have seen that the boy contracts an unconscious hatred and distrust of the woman. Heretofore he has, however, had the opportunity through his care of the younger siblings to identify himself with the mother. In addition, he has likewise been compelled to aid her in her gardening. These roles suffer by comparison with the accepted prestige of the male role. His long experience with hunger frustrations and the fact that the mother
● 932 is knowingly responsible for them gives the boy a very strong fetish-
155 istic attachment to the maternal breast, so that his approach to the woman is likely to be associated with the same inhibitions, fears, and hostilities that he contracted toward his mother. In consequence it is

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

therefore no surprise to learn that although the sexual impulse has not 152
been seriously checked, the approach to the woman is filled with shy- 155
ness and anxiety. It is a fact from the accounts of both men and women
that it is the woman who makes the first advance. It is also significant
that rape is very rare in this society. The feminine image is bound to
be associated with mother and breast, objects which he both longs to
possess and fears. The attitude toward the woman is therefore con-
trolled by two powerful forces: first, that the father can obstruct legi-
timate access to the woman, and second, that the woman herself is a
source of anxiety.

In the face of this one may ask why there is not more male celibacy 155
in the society. The answer probably lies in the effect of these influences 171
upon ego ideal formation in the boy. He must derive an exaggerated
idea of the value of potency — which incidentally is appreciated by the
woman — but more important still, an enormously exaggerated idea of
the value of status and wealth. The first represents the means of ac-
quiring the good mother, the second the means of being equal to and
opposing the despotic father. The goal of the man is fixed upon the
reaffirmation of his self-esteem through the quest for wealth.

The difficulties and discomforts of a male's position cannot be over- 152
emphasized. It is interesting to note that in a society where there is a 5 of
preponderance of women the actual incidence of bachelorhood is oc- 8
casional, whereas no spinsterhood was observed. No wonder! The
weakest must fail, but to cope with this failure society offers two pos-
sible solutions: evasion through bachelorhood, which is held in great
contempt, and becoming the satellite of a more powerful male, which is
merely a perpetuation of the state of childhood.

Although opportunities exist in childhood for the expression of sexu- 593
ality, thereby diminishing the intensity of the Oedipus complex, the
burden of conflict with the father comes in adolescence and in young
manhood. By this time the boy has had too little opportunity to exer-
cise any really effective aggression against his father, so that the expres-
sion through the quest of sexuality becomes the avenue of choice. It is
not impossible to find that at this time a young man with serious sexual
inhibitions makes violent gestures toward getting a wife.

As regards superego formation, it follows from the preceding de- 115
scription that it would of necessity be weak. The boy gets so few
rewards for obedience that the threats of punishment cannot be-
come very securely internalized. It is therefore no surprise to see that
the two expressions of superego formation, religion and the technique
of maintaining social cohesion, are not strong. There remain the sense

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Alor OFS

of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental image, the tonicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compensations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

together. At that time they were carrying in the beams for the Lan- [59x
wati lineage house. That next day I ran to Makangfokung to ask the
former chief for a pig to roast. He said he had had a pig but other
people had already taken it off. He said, "Don't stay. People are carry-
ing in the beams and you must go back and help." So I went home and
reached Alurkowati just after sundown. Mother cooked, and fed me.
Then I went down below the house to build a fire and wait for the
people. A lot of young women from Alurkowati came by on their way
to the dance and asked me to go along with them. I said, "Better wait
until all the people begin dancing." They said, "There are many people
gathered there already. We had better go." So I went on with them to
Karieta. There was a big crowd there; people from all three villages
came. The Dikimpe and Alurkowati people shouted triumph as they
arrived. Then the women from Kuyamasang arrived and Falongmating
scratched my back. I looked around and saw her standing behind me.
She said, "Come, let's go down there and chew areca." So I did. She
put areca in my shawl. She took off her necklace and gave it to me.
I said, "I am afraid." I took the necklace and gave it to my aunt Malie-
mai. Old people said we must give our elders the tokens received from
girls. Then the girl said to her younger sibling, "Don't stay here. Go
up to the dance place." Just then a crazy woman dashed onto the dance
place brandishing a club, and all the people scattered. When she ran
toward us, we ran away too. The girl pulled my hand and said, "Let's [59y
go down there." I said, "Don't. My grandparents taught me that when [32
a woman spoke with me, we could not sleep together. If we did, our
mokos would become small and disappear." [This means that the mokos
young boys have out at interest would be eaten up in small repayments
which the boys would want for immediate purposes, and they would
never get the big mokos necessary for a bride-price.] I said, "If we
sleep together, we must be married first. I have mokos. Your aunt is
in Karieta and you can come and stay with her." But the woman said,
"No, we had better sleep together first." But I didn't want to. Then
this girl came to stay with her aunt in Karieta, and people came to
tell me to go there [from his own village of Alurkowati]. I went and
she had a big basket of peas and taro for me, which she gave me, telling
me to take them to my mother to cook for me. I said, "We could eat
together, but first I must think of wealth." Her aunt said, "You two
can eat together whether or not you are married, because you are my
younger brother." So then I took the basket to my mother and brought
it back with fifteen cents in it, which I gave to the aunt. Then the girl

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

159 632 said, "We are dyeing our teeth here, so you had better come tonight and join in." I said, "If it is near the time to pay off I can't come [i.e., it is too late to join the group]." But she said, "No, there are still five or six days." So that evening I went up there. She already had my strip of dye ready for me. That night a friend and I slept alongside each other. The girl was sleeping on the bench between the floor and the thatch. In the middle of the night I wanted to turn over but couldn't because someone was pressed close against me. I felt on one side of me and felt the rough skin of my friend, who had a skin disease. Then I felt on the other side and touched this girl's breast. She had come over to lie down on the other side of me. She put her arms around my waist. I said, "Don't hug me. My grandparents told me that if I slept with a girl my large credits would become small and disappear. You can sleep here, but we can't have intercourse. You go back to your village. When you hear the mokos being beaten on Mt. Laling, it will be I, and you can come for the moko." Her aunt was awakened by the sound of my voice, and Falongmating lay quietly after that. At dawn when we went out, she took a stick and beat my back until blood flowed.

159 I went away to dun for mokos. A man came and told me that while I was away the chief of Kanaipe had caught [i.e., married] Falongmating. I said, "Good. He has gongs and mokos; he can pay for her. When there is *corvée* to be done, she can cook for a chief. He is my kinsman, and when I go there she can cook for me." [Women with whom a man [634] had had intercourse were ashamed to cook for the man should he later be a guest. Also, the man was ashamed to be a guest in that household.] Then the man said, "This woman said that you were going to pay gongs and mokos for her." I said, "Yes, that is true. I am dunning for them now. But since she has married my kinsman, she can still cook for me." This woman is still living in Kanaipe and she has cooked for me.

May 12, 1939

Last night I dreamed that people called, "Today the earthquake comes. Don't go anywhere. Stay in the village. When the earthquake comes, people must not be on steep ground. Remember the earthquake." I awoke, and later I slept again. I dreamed there were a great many people at the government camp—the officials, the tumukun, the chiefs, and all their people. The officials beat them. The tree that fell across the kitchen buildings during the storm was picked up in one piece and thrown away. All the people were running here and

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

meanwhile, was avoiding his wife and had slept the preceding night in Karieta, Fungata's village. He returned to his own house in the early morning to discover that his wife had burned his rattan switch with a leprosy curse. She had procured a piece of a leper's mat from Lakamau's house. Lakamau was a neighbor and brother-in-law of Fantan. Burning a leper's mat was considered a much more virulent form of curse than just erecting at the place of the injury a pole with a piece of the leper's mat on it.

When Fantan ran to me in the morning after discovering that his wife had cursed him, he said that this morning at the litigation he was going to divorce his wife and then marry Fungata.

During the litigation Tilamau was outwardly stony, but a strong pulse was evident in her throat, and finally tears ran down her face, though she did not change expression. She accused Fantan of unfaithfulness, of calling her vulgar and ignorant, and so on. The tumukun, however, insisted that she pay Fungata for the broken necklace, and this Tilamau refused to do. The tumukun then turned to Fungata and said, "Within the last month you have had a quarrel with the wife of the chief of Alurkowati, with the wife of Paulus Besar, and now with the wife of Fantan. One of these three men must become your husband. Which shall it be?" Fungata denied having had intercourse with Fantan. Then she said that the story about the chief of Alurkowati was as follows: She was roasting corn in her house when he passed by and said, "Ugh! a wild pig has come to eat your food." She answered, "It must be an evil spirit." He said, "You are an evil spirit too, so we had better marry." This is considered a noncompromising joke. Then Fungata admitted that Paulus Besar had seized her near the government camp on the night of a dance (October 24). At first she denied intercourse, but finally she admitted that he tugged at her breasts. This is considered an admission of intercourse. Paulus Besar was standing on the edge of the crowd at the dance place and was now called to hear judgment. It was suggested that he would have to pay a fine of a five-rupiah moko. He looked very upset but said nothing and went off to fetch it.

While he was getting the moko the litigation between Fantan and his wife was resumed. Both Fantan and Tilamau insisted, when asked by the tumukun, that they wanted to separate. The tumukun then had Tilamau's parents called. This she didn't want. Her excuse was that they would talk loudly and vulgarly. She said that she and Fantan could